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ABSTRACT

Views on the importance of the woman's contributions to shaping culture and the role of female leadership at Mount Holyoke College are considered. According to historian Mary Ritter Beard, the "woman's tradition" of imparting a progressive social consciousness to the culture has been an important influence. Beard addressed Mount Holyoke in 1937 at the college's 100th anniversary, when the college's historical mission to promote female leadership and internationalist values was justified. The centenary activities offered a vision of the college's future, which may be identified as an organizational saga. The first component of the saga was that Mount Holyoke's women leaders had been successful. Examples of strong leadership were demonstrated by Mary Lyon, the college's founder and by Mary Woolley, the president for 36 years. At the 100th anniversary, celebrants discussed the moral values and social goals that were fostered by the college's female leaders and that constituted a special heritage for the college women. Education at Mount Holyoke has been based on the tenets of human possibilities, human worth, and human self-improvement. Similarities and distinctions between the Mount Holyoke saga and basic tenets of the Social Gospel were also noted. (SW)

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A WOMAN'S COLLEGE AND THE WOMAN'S TRADITION
A DEFENSE OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP AND INTERNATIONALISM
AT MOUNT HOLYOKE

By

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On May 7 and 8, 1937, alumnae and friends of Mount Holyoke College gathered on the campus to celebrate the college's one hundredth anniversary. The keynote address to the hundreds of alumnae and distinguished guests was delivered by historian Mary Ritter Beard./1 In 1937, as a historian, Beard may have been best known for an enormously popular series of books, The Rise of American Civilization,/2 which she co-authored with her husband, Charles Beard. She was also a radical social activist and early scholar of women's history. Mary Beard strove to awaken women to their history to build a unity among women that would transform society./3 Her essential argument, that "[w]omen ha[d] been active, assertive, competent contributors to their own society"/4 through their female culture was apparent in Beard's address to the Mount Holyoke community. She asserted that women had been involved in education "[t]hroughout the ages of human societies . . . ."/5 By this, Beard meant education as the process of shaping culture. Beard identified this culture-making process as the "woman's tradition",/6 which she described as a concern with "social principles, with the distribution of wealth as a principle of culture, and with the good life . . . [and] a strong desire to be good citizens and to promote good citizenship."/7 Beard believed that these cultural concerns were lost in the nineteenth century with the rise of women's college education. "In the formal instruction which girls began to receive . . . the controlling influence . . . was the secular, amoral, materialistic, mechanistic doctrine of each against all, sometimes described . . . as laissez faire."/8

Beard described nineteenth century educational thought as a "terrific break in woman's tradition,"/9 which "repudiated and condemned every humane tradition of the education which had been women's heritage from the Enlightenment."/10

Beard had a different perspective on twentieth century college education. She believed that Progressive Era social justice advocates had begun an American renaissance. Within this movement, Beard identified three college alumnae -- Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley -- who revived the feminine tradition with "a philosophy of learning less in conformity with the stockyards."/11 They did this by connecting classroom experiences and their experiences of the world.

Mary Ritter Beard linked Mount Holyoke and Mary Woolley, the College's president for the past 36 years, with the "woman's tradition" of imparting a progressive social consciousness to the culture.

> It was in harmony with this American renaissance and revision that Mary E. Woolley began to direct the education of girls as President of Mount Holyoke at the turn of our own century . . . . In speaking for American culture, President Woolley has not spoken merely for a class endowed with special privileges justifying the exploitation of other classes. For her, education is related to the needs of society; of humanity at large now struggling in times dark and confused for a policy designed to procure for men and women human rights, human dignity and security, amid the insensate pressure for a retreat to barbarism./12

While Mary Beard firmly believed that the "woman's tradition" was a powerful one, she also perceived that this tradition was in

jeopardy -- threatened by a world that accepted force as an organizing principle, "in the main the masculine historic inclination" in preference to human rights, human dignity and security, "the historic feminine inclination." As one way of preserving the values of human rights and human dignity, Beard urged the preservation of the woman's tradition in education.

Beard's beliefs that the woman's tradition was in jeopardy and that it should be preserved were an apt introduction to the events of Mount Holyoke's Centenary. After 100 years of women principals and presidents, the Mount Holyoke trustees had selected a man, Yale professor Roswell Gray Ham, as Mary Woolley's successor. Ham was selected amidst controversy and protest./13 Those in favor of a female president believed Ham's appointment cast a disparaging shadow on Mary Woolley's administration and the College's ability to educate women for positions of leadership./14 Mary Woolley said,

> I think that the implication that there was no woman available to head the college is a serious side of the whole question. Haven't women succeeded, after a century of training in higher education, in bringing forth women fitted to handle the administration of a woman's college as well as men?/15

Although no disparaging remarks were made about Ham,/16 the celebrants emphasized the importance of the first 100 years of female leadership. Frances Perkins, a 1902 Mount Holyoke graduate, trustee of the College, and the first woman to serve in a Presidential cabinet (as Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor), summed up many of the speakers' views of the outstanding female leaders of Mount Holyoke's first hundred years.

> The strength of the past is the inspiration of the future, and I noted . . . that each of us was thinking ahead, wishfully, that there might be many more coming forth from this college in the years to come who could carry . . . the torch of scholarship and character and faith./17

Perkins saw Mary Woolley's life as the fulfillment of wise leadership, saying,

> It has been impressed upon those who have gone out from this college. This leadership has been a blessed thing, and one for which Mount Holyoke women are continually grateful . . . ./18

Thus, when the Centennial community viewed the College's institutional and cultural heritage it also faced an unknown future with the arrival of a male president. The celebration was a self-conscious attempt to define the course of the future college in terms of the past. The celebrants defined and justified the College's historical mission to promote female leadership and the internationalist values fostered by that leadership. Looking back, they saw the vision of Mount Holyoke's founder and guiding spirit, Mary Lyon. Looking forward, they optimistically saw a second century of women's education in accord with the values that had been fostered by Mount Holyoke's President of 37 years, Mary Emma Woolley.

The Centenary activities offered a vision of the college which was supposed to affect the future. In some respects, this vision can be identified as an organizational saga -- a term developed by sociologist Burton R. Clark to describe the non-structural, cultural aspects of an organization./19

> The saga is a strong self-fulfilling belief: working through institutional self-image and public image . . . . The early belief of one

> stage brings about the actions that warrant a strong version of the same belief in a later period. As the account develops, believers come to sense its many constituent symbols as inextricably bound together and the part takes its meaning from the whole./20

Mount Holyoke's Centennial celebration supports Clark's conclusions that all of the elements of the saga, past and present, are bound together and set a course for the future. And in the context of uncertainty as to the course president-elect Ham would take, the College's saga, its cultural glue, became especially important.

Leadership and the Mount Holyoke Saga

Mount Holyoke's saga was an assertion that female leadership had been successful there and that the values that had been fostered were a socially useful heritage worth preserving not just for women's sake but for the good of the entire society. The first component of the saga, that Mount Holyoke's women leaders were successful, was expressed through the celebrants' views of the achievements of Mary Woolley and of Mary Lyon, the college's founder.

In speaking about Mary Lyon, the celebrants emphasized the role that leadership had played in building Mount Holyoke. The institution "owed its existence to the vision and courage of Mary Lyon . . . ."/21 Mary Lyon's leadership ability was one important reason for Mount Holyoke's one hundred years of success. She dreamed a dream, she worked for its fulfillment and she accomplished great things. Mary Lyon did all this not for personal gain, but to serve others. The celebrants not only praised Mary Lyon's accomplishments, they lauded her as an outstanding model for college women to follow. She was a woman distinguished by her work who was yet a true scholar

and a perfect lady./22

According to the celebrants, when Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke, the institution provided a means to communicate her vision to students. She directed the students' work, both on and off campus, into new intellectual and social roles aimed at the improvement of the world social order.

If Mary Lyon was one example of strong leadership to the celebrants, Mary Woolley was a more powerful one, because she was both linked with Mary Lyon and praised for her own accomplishments. To the celebrants Mary Woolley was "her who has incarnated in dedicated leadership the living spirit of the founder."/23 Mary Woolley also was "carrying on the noble tradition of great leadership."/25 Marion Gaylord Atwell noted this in her tribute to Miss Woolley at the New York Club's celebration.

> [H]ow Mount Holyoke leaped forward in those early years of her presidency. Students increased in numbers; faculty members multiplied; the curriculum was broadened and changed; new buildings appeared on the campus, endowments were secured - while gradually that intangible and indefinable quality called prestige went hand in hand with all the visible changes./26

Mary Woolley not only possessed Mary Lyon's qualities, she added special distinctions of her own. Woolley was the new prototype for college women. Her life and activities were a model and an inspiration for the lives college women should lead. Francis Bowes Sayres, Assistant Secretary of State, remarked on this point in his talk "Woman and Peace."

> Dr. Woolley's interests and activities are symbolical of the role which intelligent and

> educated women can and should play in the public affairs of our country./27

Mary Woolley's life was not only a model, it showed women's ability to break new paths and succeed in many different areas. As one of the first two women to receive a degree from Brown, her courage and ability paved the way for other women./28 Dean Margaret Shove Morriss, Brown's representative at the celebration noted this. "She had proved in her own person that women could succeed in higher education."/29

Dean Morriss listed three other ways in which Mary Woolley had succeeded. First as a teacher, second as President of the American Association of University of Women, and third as the first United States woman delegate to an international commission -- the Disarmament Conference at Geneva (in 1932)./30 According to Morriss, in all of these activities, Mary Woolley encouraged new interests for women and opened new paths for service.

Mary Woolley was also a leader in the women's world peace movement, who proved that women could be involved on a high level in the cause of world peace. Margery Corbett Ashby, President of the International Alliance of Women, spoke of Mary Woolley's international stature and its meaning for all women.

> I could fill . . . a hall in her honor in thirty six different countries. Women of thirty six countries would flock to pay her tribute, and this for two reasons: firstly, because her work for peace and good understanding between peoples at Geneva has brought her into contact with women of all nations; but secondly, she is the symbol of a great nation which is proud to acknowledge the capacity of its women for service, is proud to give them opportunities for leadership./31

Mary Woolley's honors and acclaim were not limited to the international field, however. The Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly lists fourteen honorary degrees received by President Woolley in the years 1900-1937. For example, on March 16, 1937, she received the Doctor of Laws from the University of Chicago. She was the third woman to receive this honor. The other two were Jane Addams and Marie Curie./32

Mary Woolley had one more facet to her character. Throughout her lifetime of activities she remained a lady -- a gentlewoman. In fact, for the celebrants her activities were part of her ladylike bearing. The Alumnae Quarterly called her a crusader, a leader, and a gentlewoman./33 An even more explicit example of this link is found in the students' views of Mary Woolley. The Student Central Centennial Committee distributed a bookmark entitled "A Tribute to Mary Emma Woolley." This tribute was for thirty-six years of devotion to the better education of women, service to the larger world in the cause of international peace, and for the realization in her of the essential qualities of a perfect gentlewoman./34

Mary Woolley's life, as portrayed by the Centenary celebrants, both exhibited the existence of and resolved the tension between, the lady and the activist in 1937. The manner of resolution indicated how much power the image of the lady must have had. The underlying principles of society could be criticized, but only with decorum.

Thus, Mary Woolley was a multifaceted example of successful leadership at the College. She signified a link with Mary Lyon both as a visionary and a leader. She was also proof in increased oppor-

tunity for educated women and of progress in education for women both through her success at Brown and in her building of the modern Mount Holyoke. She had broken paths of new opportunity for service in international affairs for women. Mary Woolley demonstrated that college women could achieve great things. In some ways, she was almost superhuman -- "She set a standard for women that I am afraid we have never yet equalled."/35 Yet she was human, and a symbol of human female possibility in 1937.

The Social Goals of the Saga

The celebrants expressed moral values and social goals which they believed were their special heritage as college women. They believed that these values and goals formed a Mount Holyoke tradition which had been fostered by the college's female leaders and which had originated with the College's founder, Mary Lyon. The celebrants were able to link their own contemporary goals with those of Mary Lyon's by describing Mary Lyon's ideas in a general sense, in concepts that were easily reinterpreted in 1937's terms.

In her speech for the Alumnae Symposium, Helen Corbin Monchow, Class of 1920, offered her perception of Mary Lyon's beliefs. Mary Lyon believed that women should have educational opportunity and that a permanent women's school should be established. The true purpose of women's education lay in women's ultimate social usefulness./36 The school and its graduates would serve the broad purpose of improving the society and the world.

According to another alumna, Marion Gaylord Atwell, Class of 1879,

> That Mary of long ago was filled with a zeal not only to secure for the womanhood of America nigher and broader educational opportunities but also to carry her standards of Christian civilization and social betterment to the non-Christian peoples of the world./37

Thus, the Celebrants offered an interpretation of Mary Lyon's ideas which was consistent with their own goals. Mary Lyon was viewed as having founded Mount Holyoke to give women education and opportunities. Therefore, in Mount Holyoke's saga, Mary Lyon's ideas and accomplishments were important because they served as both proof of and justification for the continuation of the woman's tradition at Mount Holyoke.

Mary Woolley, in her discussion of "Mount Holyoke in the International Field" also interpreted Mary Lyon's ideas in contemporary (1937) terms. According to Mary Woolley, one hundred years ago Mary Lyon had a world vision, because of it, missionaries were sent out to the American frontier and foreign countries where they made educational, social and political accomplishments. The missionaries made "permanent and concrete contributions" to the field of education.

They founded schools patterned after Mount Holyoke, which were often referred to as daughter and sister colleges./38 The activities of the missionaries in education and social and political work began a line of succession which passed to natives of the foreign countries./39 Thus the original educational institution, Mount Holyoke, established a broad base for the improvement of the world. All of these activities helped to further world understanding. Thus, internationalism had become an integral part of Mount Holyoke's

heritage; it was "woven into the warp and woof of this institution."/40

Mary Woolley portrayed Mary Lyon's vision as one which understood "salvation in terms of the individual rather than the world wide family."/41 Mary Woolley went on to explain the vision of salvation in terms acceptable to her own contemporaries. According to Woolley, the educated woman had to look past her own soul to the world-wide family. That is, salvation could only be achieved as a corporate, rather than individual, venture. The new plan for salvation called for humanity to be reformed. This reform would be accomplished by increased proficiency in human relationships. The increased proficiency would come from "cultivation of things of the spirit" -- "the visible world geared to the invisible which gives power."/42 The mission was no longer the Christian evangelism of Mary Lyon's day; it was the building of a peaceful world community.

Thus, the essential elements of Woolley's vision were a focus on the international community, a desire for world understanding, a belief that the world would and should be improved on a corporate rather than an individual level, and a belief that the key to world understanding was the reform of human nature and social institutions which would improve human relationships.

Another speaker, Frances Perkins, was one of the trustees who protested the selection of a male president. She was an ardent advocate of female leadership for Mount Holyoke who believed that the college women's tradition of moral values and goals had served American society well.

> It is a generally recognized fact that women on the whole have a strong social and humanitarian viewpoint; and if they have given special study to such problems as have many college women, they excel rather strikingly in various kinds of public service, in which even when they are paid for their work the factor of monetary profits is not the objective./43

Perkins opened her remarks with an assessment of the spiritual and moral values which were the base of strength from which Mount Holyoke, its faculty and its graduates had served the entire community of the United States./44 Perkins listed three important qualities: first, "a certain faith in the possibilities of life upon this planet";/45 second, "a definite acceptance, an enthusiasm for the conception that each human soul has great worth and dignity";/46 third, "a strength of belief and an enthusiasm for the idea that it is possible for the human race by taking thought infinitely to improve itself."/47

Perkins then stated that generations of Mount Holyoke women had guided their lives by these values, "determined to make that part of the world with which they had contact a somewhat more favorable place for the development and the improvement of the human race and with a complete faith in those possibilities."/48

Perkins identified these values as the basic tenets of the Christian religion./49 She added to these the idea that education was a part of these principles and that the educational institution was one means by which the world and the human race progress. "So we are, after all, in this institution, but one of the agencies for the gradual improvement of the world and the race."/50

Education at Mount Holyoke, then, was based on the tenets of human possibilities, human worth, and human self-improvement. Mount Holyoke, as an institution, was based on these ideas and had instilled them in its graduates. The beliefs were the inspiration for women's actions in the world outside Mount Holyoke.

There was an entire school of Christian thought at this time which focused on solving social problems and the creation of a more perfect earthly community. It was known as the Social Gospel. There were striking similarities between the Mount Holyoke saga and the report of the interdenominational Federal Council of Churches, published in 1920, The Church and Industrial Reconstruction. According to historian Donald Meyer, "the report opened with a discussion of the religious grounding of social principles."/51 Meyer quoted the report:

> Mankind in all its relations, therefore, must be organized according to the Will of God, as revealed in Christ. The entire social order must be Christianized. The world as a whole is the subject of redemption./52

The report indicated three principles of Christ's teaching which should be the moral and spiritual base of the social order. First, the human personality was of sacred worth. Second, "[b]rotherhood was the primary and proper relationship between man and man."/53 Third, all social behavior should be governed by the law of loving service./54

Thus the ideal social order was based on the tenets of human worth, brotherly human relationships, and loving service to others. Another important aspect was that fulfillment would be on

a corporate rather than an individual level. Meyer said:

> In these principles it was clear that Jesus conceived of the Kingdom as organic: Individual salvation or self-development alone was impossible. Each man had to find his place in the organic kingdom before he could attain his true destiny as a child of God./55

There were a number of similarities between the basic tenets of the Social Gospel and the Mount Holyoke saga. The first parallel was the religious grounding of social principles. Mary Woolley's call for humanity and the reformation of social institutions derived power from the visible world being geared to the invisible./56 Salvation of the world could only be achieved with the aid of spiritual power. Mary Woolley declared,

> [T]he future of the world depends not only on the cultivation of the "things of the mind" but also upon the cultivation of the "things of the spirit."/57

Through her call for internationalism, Mary Woolley focused on the world community as the object of reforms.

The second similarity was the moral and spiritual base for the new order. The values of human worth, brotherhood, and loving service were found in the Mount Holyoke saga. Frances Perkins spoke of the value and dignity of each human soul./58 Mary Woolley referred to the role of increased proficiency in human relationships./59 Both women referred to college women's experience as servants of humanity and the desire to continue that service./60 Frances Perkins even referred to the values she mentioned as the basic tenets of the Christian faith./61

The third aspect of Social Gospel thought that was paralleled

by Mount Holyoke's saga was the concept of corporate rather than individual salvation. Mary Woolley understood salvation not in terms of the individual, but in terms of the world wide family./62

The Social Gospel and the Mount Holyoke saga were in accord on the three basic aspects which were: first, the religious grounding of social principles; second, the call for a new social order and the basic principles on which the order should be founded; third, the belief in a cooperative effort to redeem the world community as opposed to individual salvation.

Besides the circumstantial evidence of these similarities, there was direct evidence that Social Gospel thought was a strong influence at Mount Holyoke. The list of speakers at the required Sunday morning Chapel services read like a litany of Social Gospel notables. Many men who spoke at Mount Holyoke were members of the committee that drafted the report referred to earlier (The Church and Industrial Reconstruction). This group included W.H.P. Faunce, Bishop Francis McConnell, Shailer Matthews, Charles Gilkey, and Harry Emerson Fosdick. In addition, there were appearances by Charles K. Brown, Henry Sloane Coffin, and Reinhold Niebuhr./63

The Means to Perfection

Despite the similar basic values and goals of the Social Gospel and the Mount Holyoke saga, there were differences between the two as to what means best served the ends. In the report, The Church and Industrial Reconstruction, the Committee criticized capitalism for violating the tenets of human worth, brotherhood, and loving service. Members did not recommend the abolition of capitalism,

however. Instead, they advocated a new social order which would combine the technical forms of capitalism (e.g., factory production, the wage system, and ownership of the means of production by a few) with the moral and spiritual attitudes of the Social Gospel./64 As Meyer said,

> [I]f the inner spirit of the system could be transformed, common good replacing individual good, profit of the personality replacing material profit, the merely technical features of the system might deserve continued life./65

The adherents of the Social Gospel sought groups as agents of change. During the twenties and thirties they looked successively to big business, the labor community, and the Protestant Churches. They also became involved in politics. They hoped to start a group movement with the means to bring about the new social order. Ultimately they were not able to do so./66

> "[J]ust as the ideal business leadership did not exist, and as the ideal labor movement did not exist, and as the ideal church did not exist, so too the ideal politics did not exist."/67

The Social Gospel failed to find a suitable vehicle for reform during the twenties because the Social Gospelers' desire for a new social order was incompatible with the conservative political climate of the times./68 All of this changed in the thirties. The coming of the New Deal heralded a conjunction between Social Gospel thought and the national consciousness. The immediate goals elucidated by the Federal Council of Churches Committee in 1920 became a reality (e.g., "public works program and unemployment insurance, minimum wage and maximum hour codes, child labor laws and laws regu-

lating the work of women")./69

This social reform engendered confidence among Social Gospelers that extended beyond immediate goals and transcendent ones as well. Paul Carter described the rise of optimism among Social Gospelers.

> Now, with the guardians of the erstwhile status quo seemingly on the run, a favorable atmosphere had been created for a "new deal" within the Church itslef a "new deal" which would include a more expansive Social Gospel./70

Motivated by this optimism, the Social Gospelers sought the new means for bringing about the more perfect earthly order. They found this in the spreading world ecumenical movement. Within this movement, the churches were to be models for the perfect social order. Churches would become directly involved in the fight to change the world by serving as examples of fellowship among all races and nations./71 The clearest expression of this point of view was found in the international church conference of 1937 -- the Oxford Conference on Life and Works. Carter quoted the council report,

> [T]he Church is called to be in its own life that fellowship which binds men together in their common dependence on God and overleaps all barriers of social status, race, or nationality.72

Speakers at the conference believed that the international fellowship of Christians was a stronger bond than any nationalist ties. Carter noted the thoughts of one speaker as representative of many.

> Again and again speakers expressed the idea that "American Christians had more in common with their fellow Christians in Germany or

> Japan than with their fellow Americans who do not share the Christian understanding of life."/73

The ecumenical Church, then, was to be an international model for fellowship among all nations and races. This international fellowship would be the base for a new social order which had been defined in the Church's terms. Carter noted:

> Rather than counsel social reform primarily through secular channels, the Church as such was to become involved in the struggle, and in its own terms rather than in society's./74

While adherents of the Mount Holyoke saga pursued a peaceful international community like that of the Social Gospel, there were important distinctions between the two which show that the Mount Holyoke saga was a unique tradition that had been shaped by Mount Holyoke's female leaders. One distinction lay in the means chosen to fulfill the saga. The saga placed the internationally influential educational institution, not the ecumenical Church, in the central role as the model for the new social order. Mount Holyoke and its daughter and sister colleges, founded on a world vision, were a chain of international models for society to imitate.

Another distinction between the Social Gospel and the Mount Holyoke saga was the saga's emphasis on the vital role of educated women in the formulation of a peaceful world community. College women were taught that they could directly contribute to the reform of society in areas previously closed to them. For example, Frances Perkins spoke of women's right to pursue political elective office.

> They have qualified because of ability. There should be more women in such positions . . . . Why shouldn't they demand political recognition, not for personal advantage but for the opportunity to serve./75

The idea of training college women for leadership roles in political and economic arenas distinguished the saga from prevailing cultural views as well as from the Social Gospel. In the thirties, women were overwhelmingly concentrated in occupations that were defined as woman's work (i.e., secretarial work, garment manufacturing, teaching and nursing) and women industrial and professional workers were rarely promoted to the managerial level./76

Another important aspect of the saga was its emphasis on college women's intellectual powers as the source of their virtue. For Frances Perkins, education gave women the discipline of reason, to discern truth and "select from that knowledge the general trends which are leading upward . . . ./77 Mary Woolley believed that peaceful international relations were based on reason and that education taught people to make an intelligent choice for peace./78 The reason women were able to make the choice for peace was not because women were intrinsically more moral than men, but because of their educational training in the woman's tradition.

The emphasis on women's intellectual abilities not only distinguished the saga from the Victorian mentality, which like Jane Addams for example, credited women with a moral sense based on "intuition",/79 it was a distinction in the academic world as well. In graduate schools in the nineteen twenties and thirties for example, women often experienced discrimination because of the prevailing belief that they did not possess creative intellectual powers./80

Thus, the Mount Holyoke saga was a distinct woman's tradition that had been shaped by female leaders. And, like the tradition

of female leadership, the values and goals of the saga were under attack from the trustees as well, many of whom disapproved of what Mary Woolley taught as much as they disdained female leadership./81 In the face of a "terrific break in woman's tradition", the celebrants used the Centenary to assert that female leadership and the values fostered by that leadership were essential to Mount Holyoke's mission. In so doing, they hoped to defend the College of the past and influence the College of the future. Another reason the women clung tenaciously to these values at Mount Holyoke was because they perceived them as a force for changing the entire world. Not only was Mount Holyoke led by women, it wanted to train other women to lead as well. Women trained at Mount Holyoke were expected to go out in the world and take whatever roles were necessary to bring about a peaceful international community.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Mount Holyoke Centenary Celebration took place on May 7-8, 1937. The anniversary of Mount Holyoke's founding was actually November 8, but the celebration date was moved to the spring so that it would occur during the outgoing President's, Mary Woolley's, administration. "Memorandum from Conference Re: Centennial Committee, June 20, 1936," Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives. The Centenary activities included two days of speeches, exhibitions, and special events, such as a dance recital and a band concert. In addition to Mary Ritter Beard, the speakers included such distinguished guests as Virginia Gildersleeve, Barnard Dean and President of the International Federation of University Women, Francis Bowes Sayres, an assistant secretary of state; and Frances Perkins, '02, Trustee and Secretary of Labor.

2. Charles Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1927; college ed., 1930 revised and enlarged, 1933).

3. Ann J. Lane, ed., Mary Ritter Beard: A Sourcebook, (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), Chapter VI.

4. Ibid., p. 1.

5. Mary Ritter Beard, "The Direction of Women's Education" in The Centenary of Mount Holyoke College, (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1937) pp. 44-61.

6. Ibid., p. 53.

7. Ibid., p. 54.

8. Ibid., p. 55.

9. Ibid., p. 53.

10. Ibid., p. 57.

11. Ibid., p. 58.

12. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

13. Ibid.

14. For example, the alumnae organized a protest under the name "Committee of 100", which presented a petition with 1200 signatures to the trustees. There was dissent among the trustees themselves, and two trustees, Frances Perkins and Harriet Love Thompson

attempted to make the board reverse its decision. Alice Paul's Women's Party, (militant supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment), offered to chain themselves to the college gates. Faculty and friends of Mount Holyoke protested publicly. See Jeanette Marks, Life and Letters of Mary Emma Woolley, (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1955), Chapters 16-18 and Anna Mary Wells, Miss Marks and Miss Woolley, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978), Chapter 11.

15. Marks, Chapters 16-18.

16. Ibid., p. 190.

17. Although at other times, many members of the college community did object to Ham, a former Marine Captain, because militarism was antithetical to their pacifist, internationalist views, which had been fostered by Mary Woolley. See Wells, p. 231. For a discussion of Mary Woolley's pacifist views and her internationalist perspective see Arthur C. Cole, A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of an Educational Ideal, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), Chapters 11 and 12. Mary Woolley's belief in peace through internationalism dominated her speeches and writings. See, for example, "The College Woman in the World Community," "Progress is the Law of Life," (#739); "Education and the Disarmament of the Mind" (#693); Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

18. Frances Perkins, The Role of the College Woman in the Community, Centenary, p. 19.

19. Ibid., p. 21.

20. According to Clark, the saga is a collectively understood and publicly expressed set of beliefs about an institution (in this case Mount Holyoke), rooted in historical events, which claims unique accomplishments for the institution, and is held with sentiment by those affiliated with the institution. These beliefs offer a strong sense of pride and unity to members of a college community, both on and off campus. Burton R. Clark, "The Organizational Saga in Higher Education," Administrative Science Quarterly 17, 2, June, 1972, pp. 178-183.

21. Ibid., p. 182.

22. Preliminary Invitation, Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

23. See the dramatization, "Mount Holyoke Opens," in Centenary, pp. 63-67. Mary Lyon is patient, kind, has the good manners to be grateful and a strong religious leaning. She is proud of her accomplishments achieved through both hard work and prayer.

24. Centenary, p. 10.

25. Ibid., p. 7.

26. Marion Gaylord Atwell, "In Behalf of the New York Club," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 1 (April, 1937) p. 14.

27. Centenary, p. 94.

28. Ibid., p. 122.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., p. 123.

31. Ibid., p. 80.

32. Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, Volume 1, No. 1, (April, 1937), p. 13.

33. Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, Volume 2, No. 2, (August, 1937), opening page.

34. Bookmark, "A Tribute to Mary Emma Woolley", Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

35. Margaret Shove Morris, quoted in Centenary, p. 123.

36. Centenary, p. 16.

37. Atwell, p. 13. There was virtually no mention at the Centenary of the evangelical fervor of Mary Lyon's Christianity. According to Mary Lyon, Mount Holyoke was founded for purposes of Christian benevolence, which meant evangelical good works. While she wanted to give women educational opportunity she also wanted women who would serve the world. During the years she was at Mount Holyoke, she maintained a continuous revival spirit among the students. The primary purpose of the many missionaries who went out from Mount Holyoke was to convert people to Christianity. See Willystine Goodsell, ed., Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States, (New York: AHS Press, 1931 first ed., 1970, 2nd ed.), p. 279, and also Elizabeth Alden Green, Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke, (Hanover, NH: University Press, 1979), pp. 242-243.

This is not to suggest that Mount Holyoke was completely secularized in 1937, only that the prevalent form of Christianity was not evangelical piety. But, it was important to the women of the thirties to be connected to the beginnings of Mount Holyoke, even if the succession was along broad, general lines. Not only were they preserving their heritage through their link to Mary Lyon,

they also had the assurance that they and Mount Holyoke possessed a higher purpose.

38. Ibid., pp. 34-36.

39. Ibid., p. 38.

40. Mary E. Woolley, "Mount Holyoke in the International Field," Centenary p. 39.

41. Ibid., p. 40.

42. Ibid.

43. Perkins, Centenary, p. 29.

44. Ibid., p. 19.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 20.

49. See George W. Martin, Madam Secretary (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), frontispiece. Frances Perkins said she lived her life for Jesus. Mary Woolley was deeply religious as well. For example, see her chapel talks, collected in the Mount Holyoke archives.

50. Perkins, Centenary, p. 20.

51. Donald Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960, Reprinted Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 20.

52. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

53. Ibid., p. 21

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Centenary, p. 40.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., p. 19.

59. Ibid., p. 40.

60. See above, pp. 13-14, and pp. 19-21.

61. Perkins, Centenary, p. 20.

62. Ibid., p. 40.

63. W.H.P. Faunce spoke at the Baccalaureate Service in 1923. See "The Weekly Calendar", Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives. For appearances of the other speakers see "The Weekly Calendar", 1930-1937, Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

64. Meyer, pp. 21-22.

65. Ibid., p. 22.

66. Ibid., Chapters 3-6.

67. Ibid., p. 121.

68. Paul A. Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940, (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 129.

69. Meyer, p. 23.

70. Carter, p. 166.

71. Ibid., pp. 190-191, also see Chapter 13.

72. Ibid., p. 191.

73. Ibid., p. 190.

74. Ibid., p. 190.

75. Perkins, Centenary, p. 30.

76. William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) pp. 59-65. On discrimination against women in the 1920's and 1930's see also Barbara J. Harris Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History, (Westport: The Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 137-146, J. Stanley Lemons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920's, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973) pp. 229-233. William L. O'Neill, Everyone was Brave: A History of Feminism in America, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969, 1971) pp. 304-306.

77. Perkins, Centenary, p. 20.

78. Mary Emma Woolley, "The Role of the College Woman in the Community," Mount Holyoke College Library/Archives.

79. Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 22-23.

80. For a discussion of the discrimination some women faced while pursuing academic careers at major graduate schools, see Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

81. Wells, p. 231.